Department of State

59-52

CONFIDENT LAL

Action

131 7 33

Control: 15363

Rec'd: APRIL 23,

3:10 P.M.

EUR Info RMR

FROM: BONN

TO: Secretary of State

NO: SS W

2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M.

G SP ~

C

SENT DEPARTMENT 2377, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 625 PARIS 823 ROME 72 VIENNA 32 BERLIN 814 BREMEN, FRANKFURT, DUESSELDORF,

SAE

HAMBURG, STUTTGART, MUNICH UNNUMBERED.

L IO

JOINT STATE-USIA MESSAGE

INR H

LONDON PASS HILLENBRAND AND PAO

UOP IRC

P

PARIS PASS HILLENBRAND, USRO, THURSTON, WEST AND PAO

OCB

BERLIN, ROME, VIENNA, ALSO PASS PAO'S

US LA CIA OSD

ARMY

NAVY

AIR

FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF UNPUBLISHED PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY CONCLUDED BY DIVO (GERMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE) IN WEST BERLIN DURING PERIOD APRIL 7 - 19, 1959. INSTITUTE OFTEN WORKS CLOSELY WITH USIS AND HAS EXCELLENT REP-UTATION FOR ACCURACY AND RELIABILITY. THEIR PROBABILITY SAMPLES PERMIT RELIANCE ON REPRESENTATIVENESS DESPITE SMALL NUMBERS. (806 CASES IN WEST GERMANY AND 320 IN WEST BERLIN.) COMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS

FOLLOW IN AIRGRAM.

HOW SERIOUS NOW, IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE BERLIN SITUATION? (CARD)

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

APRIL 59

VERY SERIOUS, THE FATE OF WEST BERLIN IS AT STAKE

30 PERCENT

UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED" RODUCTION FROM THIS

PERCENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PERMANENT RECORD COPY . This copy must be returned to RM/R central files with

> DECLASSIFIED NNI) 8874

NARA, Date 1-8

62.0/4-2359

-2- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

| | 100 PERCENT | 100 PERCENT | |
|--|-------------|-------------|---|
| DON'T KNOW | 7 | 1 | |
| D. NOT AT ALL SERIOUS; IT IS JUST A LOT OF TALK | 4 | 6 | |
| C. NOT VERY SERIOUS; IT WILL BLOW OVER | 19 | 26 | |
| B. SOMEWHAT SERIOUS, BUT NOT ENDANGERING PRESENT STATUS OF WEST BERLIN | 40 | | Ś |

5. WHAT POSITION DO YOU THINK THE AMERICANS WILL ADOPT ABOUT THEIR RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN? WILL THEY REMAIN FIRM RATHER THAN GIVE IN; ARE THEY LIKELY TO AGREE TO SOME COMPROMISE; OR WILL THEY GIVE IN TO WHATEVER SOVIET ACTIONS ARE INSTITUTED?

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN
APRIL 59

A. WILL REMAIN FIRM
50PCT
76 PCT

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NNO 887404

By AR NARA, Date 1-8-10

-3- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

BACK DOWN; WILL THEY SEEK A COMPROMISE: OR WILL THEY GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PLANS REGARDLESS OF WESTERN PROTESTS (OR PROPOSALS)?

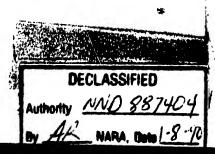
| | | | WEST | GERMANY | WEST BERLIN |
|----|-------|--------------------------|------|---------|-------------|
| Α. | WILL | BACK DOWN | | 9 PCT | 23 PCT |
| В٠ | WILL | COMPROMISE | 5 |) | 57 |
| С. | WILL | GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PLAN | s 2 | 5 | 16 |
| | DONIT | KNOW | 1 (| 6 | 4 |
| | | | 100 | PCT | 100 PCT |

9. IN THE EVENT THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF ACCEPTING DDR CONTROL OVER ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN OR OF RISKING WAR BY SENDING CONVOYS THROUGH, WHICH WOULD YOU WANT THEM TO DO?

| | | WEST GERMANY APRIL 59 | WEST BERLIN APRIL 59 |
|----|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Α. | ACCEPT DDR CONTROL | 41 PCT | 34 PCT |
| В٠ | RISK A WAR | 21 | 52 |
| С. | DON'T KNOW | 38 | 14 |
| | | 100 | 100 PCT |

12. NOW I WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR IDEAS ON THE DANGER OF A WAR OVER BERLIN WOULD YOU SAY THAT WAR IS CERTAIN,

CONFIDENTIAL



THE GLASSITE

-4- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

WAR IS LIKELY, THAT WAR IS UNLIKELY OR THAT THERE IS NO DANGER AT ALL?

| | | WEST GERMAN | Y WEST BERLIN |
|----|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| A٠ | WAR IS CERTAIN | 1 PCT | O PCT |
| В, | WAR IS LIKELY | 18 | . 17 |
| С. | WAR IS UNLIKELY | 59 | 67 |
| D. | NO DANGER AT ALL | 10 | 14 |
| | DON'T KNOW | 12 | 2 |
| | | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

14. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE CHANGES OF THE COMING CONFERENCE ACHIEVING SOME REALLY WORTHWHILE RESULTS? VERY GOOD, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR?

| | | WEST GERMANY APRIL 59 | |
|----|------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Α. | VERY GOOD | 1 PCT | 1 PCT |
| В, | GOOD | 12 | 8 |
| С. | FAIR | 42 | 55 |
| D. | POOR | 27 | 23 |
| Ε. | VERY POOR | 7 | 10 |
| F. | DON'T KNOW | 11 | 3 |
| | | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NO 887404

By A. NARA, Date 1-8-40

16. THE RUSSIANS HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT A REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN BONN AND THE EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN PANKOW. SO FAR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OUR WESTERN ALLIES HAVE TURNED THIS PROPOSAL DOWN. DO YOU THINK THE THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD FINALLY SEEK APPROVAL TO ENTER INTO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS?

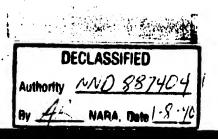
| | | WEST GERMANY | WEST BERLIN |
|----|---------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Α. | YES, THEY SHOULD | 64 PCT | 47 PCT |
| ₿, | NO, THEY SHOULD NOT | 22 | 50 |
| С. | DON'T KNOW | 14 | 3 |
| | | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

17. SO FAR THE THREE WESTERN POWERS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAVE INSISTED THAT THERE MUST BE FREE ELECTIONS IN ALL OF GERMANY BEFORE REUNIFICATION COULD TAKE PLACE. DO YOU THINK IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE TO INSIST ON IT, OR SHOULDN'T THEY INSIST ON IT, OR ANY LONGER?

| | WEST GERMANY APRIL 59 | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| INSIST ON FREE ELECTIONS | 61 PCT | 76 PCT |
| NOT INSIST | 25 | 21 |
| DON'T KNOW | 14 | 3 |
| | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

CONFIDENTIAL

TASSIFIED FILE



PRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

-6- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

19. AS MATTERS STAND TODAY, DO YOU THINK THAT THE CHANCES FOR A REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY ARE GOOD, BAD, OR FAIR? (IF "GOOD": VERY GOOD OR GOOD?) (IF "BAD": BAD OR VERY BAD?)

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

| VERY GOOD | 2 PCT | O PCT |
|------------|---------|---------|
| GOOD | 10 | 10 |
| FAIR | 26 | 30 |
| BAD | 39 | 38 |
| VERY BAD | 13 | 21 |
| NO OPINION | 10 | 1 |
| | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

23. SUPPOSE THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE WESTERN POWERS FOR BOTH SIDES TO PULL THEIR TROOPS OUT OF THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY, WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME HAVING AN AGREEMENT ON EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION.

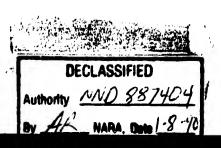
DO YOU THINK SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON DISENGAGEMENT WILL ENDANGER, OR ADD TO THE SECURITY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, OR WON'T IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE?

> WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN APRIL 59 APRIL 59

WILL ENDANGER SECURITY

39 PCT 62 PCT

CONFIDENTIAL



-7- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

| WILL ADD TO SECURITY | 13 | 5 |
|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| WILL NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE | 24 | 27 |
| DON'T KNOW | 24 | 6 |
| | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

25. LET US AGAIN SUPPOSE THAT THERE IS SUCH AD DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT AND AMERICAN AS WELL AS ALL OTHER WESTERN TROOPS HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IN THE EVENT OF A LATER COMMUNIST ATTACK ON BERLIN OR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, THE AMERICANS WOULD RISK THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR CITIES IN ORDER TO COME TO OUR AID? HOW ABOUT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH?

WEST GERMANY

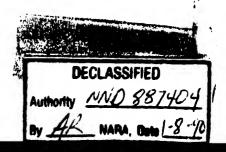
| • | U.S. | ENGLAND | FRENCH |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| YES, THEY WOULD | 56 | 35 | 31 |
| NO, THEY WOULD NOT | 26 | 42 | 43 |
| DON T KNOW | 18 | 23 | 26 |
| | 100 PCT | 100 PCT | 100 PCT |

25. CONTINUED

WEST BERLIN

V.S. ENGLAND FRANCE
YES. THEY WOULD 77 55 54

CONFIDENTIAL



-FREPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

-8- 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M., FROM BONN

NO, THEY WOULD NOT 19 36 38

DON'T KNOW 4 9 8

100 PCT 100 PCT 100 PCT

TIMBERLAKE

UE/20

CONFIDENTIAL

